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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 65th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 19 November 1992, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria)
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. PHOOFOLO (Lesotho)
(Vice-President)

- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa [33] (continued)

  (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid

  (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa

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(c) Report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports

(d) Reports of the Secretary-General

(e) Report of the Special Political Committee

- United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa [34] (continued)

(a) Report of the Secretary-General

(b) Draft resolution

- Programme of work

- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa [33] (continued)

(a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid

(b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa

(c) Report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports

(d) Reports of the Secretary-General

(e) Report of the Special Political Committee

- United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa [34] (continued)

(a) Report of the Secretary-General

(b) Draft resolution

The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 33 AND 34 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/47/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/47/43)

(c) REPORT OF THE COMMISSION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS (A/47/45)

(d) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/525, A/47/559, A/47/574)

(e) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/47/616)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/513)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/47/L.15)

Mr. SOMAVIA (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): When we spoke in the Assembly last year on the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, an agenda item of vital importance to the international community, my delegation said that it was hopeful, as a result of certain positive signs which were then beginning to emerge and which pointed in the direction of a new South Africa.

Since then the situation in that part of the world has continued to cause grave concern. During this period grave events have occurred, such as those in Boipatong and, more recently, in Ciskei. The violence unleashed on both occasions took many lives and caused much suffering.

That means that we have moved from some glimmers of hope to uncertainty, and it also resulted in the interruption last Jure of a negotiating process of which there had been great expectations.

My delegation wishes to associate itself with what was said by various Heads of State of African countries and other regional leaders during this

(Mr. Somavia, Chile)

session's general debate and in particular with the following statement by the President of Senegal, as Acting President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) referring to the Security Council:

> "I should like, on behalf of the continent, to express my sincerest thanks to the members of this organ of our universal Organization for the diligence and sense of solidarity with which they responded to our appeal by adopting Security Council resolution 765 (1992), which invites the South African authorities to take the appropriate measures to end the violence." (A/47/PV.18, p. 9)

We also congratulate the Secretary-General on the role that he played on that occasion.

The Government of Chile has often reiterated its concern over a climate of violence related to repeated incidents and confrontations that have led to acts of vandalism and death. We feel that these regrettable excesses result from the prolonged existence of a system which has never nurtured a culture of ethnic and political tolerance.

This situation is aggravated by the enormous socio-economic inequalities in the population, especially among the black community, which suffers particular hardship because of the failure to meet basic education, health, employment and housing needs. However, the main reason why bringing about harmonious coexistence in South African society is difficult - and we must repeat this once again at this session of the General Assembly - is undoubtedly the negative impact of the racist laws that still persist.

We are in favour of maintaining, with foresight and prudence, mechanisms for international monitoring that will make it possible to hasten the definitive abolition of the system of apartheid. In this respect, we support

(Mr. Somavia, Chile)

the sending of observers and the work being done by the Goldstone Commission. We welcome the recent decision by the European Community to send 15 observers, including police officers, lawyers and economists, to work in close cooperation with the National Peace Secretariat as well as with the United Nations and observer teams from other international organizations.

(Mr. Somavia, Chile)

We have been consistent in our support for a peaceful and negotiated process towards the establishment of a new South Africa, and we reiterate that position today. My country categorically condemns violence. There is no alternative to negotiation if there is to be peaceful change in South Africa. It is vital that a climate of security conducive to the resumption of dialogue for the establishment of a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa be created - and here the Government of South Africa bears a great responsibility.

In South Africa, the negotiations of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, when they were suspended, had undoubtedly achieved positive results. Important consensus had been secured within a relatively short time, bearing in mind that less than two years ago apartheid was still intact and the prospects were not encouraging.

On 26 September the leader of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela - that great leader in the cause of freedom in the world - and President de Klerk met for the purpose of dealing with the problem of violence and the obstacles to negotiations. On that occasion a Joint Statement and a Record of Understanding that laid the groundwork for resumption of the negotiation process were adopted. We hope that the parties will comply completely with the provisions of those two documents.

Chile is pleased at this step taken by the highest political leaders. We hope that as a result of the talks South Africa's resolve to march towards a non-racial, democratic, united and violence-free society will be made irreversible. This process requires the promulgation of a new constitution and the adoption of non-discriminatory institutional measures for political transition.

(Mr. Somavia, Chile)

With this objective in mind, we feel profound solidarity towards a people still suffering the consequences of apartheid, which my Government and the political parties behind it have always condemned. This rejection is inspired by Chile's own political and social experience, as such segregationist practices are so alien to us.

Chilean nationality is the result of a harmonious merging of peoples of different origins, cultures and traditions. That is why we have always adhered to fundamental principles and norms that establish equality before the law for all inhabitants of the Republic. One of the fundamental principles that have guided my Government in its action has been the promotion of complete respect for individual freedoms and non-discrimination.

Historically, Chile has been a democratic country. Since we achieved independence, respect for freedom has prevailed. But we have also, in our recent history, suffered an authoritarian period - a time when the traditional values of Chilean democracy were lost. We are at one with the search for and the affirmation of freedom in a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

My Government will remain attentive to and watchful of the evolution of apartheid in South Africa and will maintain its critical attitude until apartheid as an expression of political domination has disappeared once and for all. We believe that joint efforts to eradicate apartheid must continue and that the Special Committee must persist in its invaluable work of solidarity with and support for the people of South Africa, in accordance with the mandate given to it by our Organization and confirmed in many resolutions of the General Assembly.

I wish, from this rostrum, to congratulate the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, on his work and his

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strenuous efforts to ensure that the Committee carries out all the tasks assigned to it.

Furthermore, we believe that the various United Nations programmes that are designed to help the South African people should continue to operate firmly and steadily. We refer in particular to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, of whose governing board Chile is proud to be a member, and to other programmes that this Organization and its specialized agencies can carry out. These include the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, which has given valuable assistance to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. Chile is pleased to be one of the sponsors of the draft resolution on this initiative. It reaffirms the importance and the role of the international commuunity's important role in assisting the people of South Africa in its vital task of bridging the economic and social disparities during the transitional period, particularly in the field of education.

May I conclude by reiterating our conviction that in this new international scenario in which democracy and human rights are being strengthened - in a new world such as the one we are trying to build - there is no place for apartheid. We hope that the transitional process will be accomplished peacefully through negotiation and that in the very near future we shall have a united, democratic South Africa without racial distinctions and completely involved in the vital endeavour that lies ahead for the United Nations - the building of an ever more just, united and peaceful world.

Chilean democracy will always be on the side of those oppressed by racism. Chilean democracy will always be against the barbarity of apartheid.

Mr. HUSLID (Norway): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries - Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and my own country, Norway.

Three eventful years have passed since the adoption by this Assembly of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. This Declaration outlined the international community's views on how to facilitate the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy. The Nordic countries continue to endorse the principles embodied in the Declaration, and they have continued to follow closely the developments in South Africa.

Today we shall not delve into the fundamental changes that have already taken place. But the formal basis of apartheid has ceased to exist. Furthermore, the Nordic countries believe that the process under way in South Africa has gathered such momentum that it is irreversible. The international community is also actively engaged in facilitating this process. We welcome, in this context, the increased involvement of the United Nations, which includes the dispatching of observers to South Africa, as well as the activities there of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other United Nations bodies.

(Mr. Huslid, Norway)

We can note with satisfaction that the climate for free political expression and activities has improved dramatically in South Africa compared to only a few years ago. The creation of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) almost a year ago gave rise to widespread optimism. This feeling was bolstered by the overwhelming expression of support for the reform process from the white electorate in the referendum that was held in March this year. Important issues remain to be settled, however, before a new united, democratic and non-racial South Africa emerges. Setbacks have occurred in the reform process with the deadlock in the second round of talks in CODESA in May and the spiralling cycle of violence in the country, which has an adverse impact on work toward a political settlement. We note with satisfaction, however, that many obstacles to resumed negotiations were removed at the end of September.

It is highly encouraging that the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Government have resumed talks with a view to reopening negotiations on how to proceed in order to adopt a constitution for a new democratic South Africa and agree on the necessary transitional arrangements. We urge Inkatha, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other parties to participate in the negotiation process. There is in our view no alternative to this process. It must continue and be brought to a successful conclusion to make possible a peaceful and prosperous future for all South Africans. This process deserves the full support of and encouragement by the international community. It is our firm hope that the negotiations will lead to the early establishment of a transitional executive council and the holding of elections for a constituent assembly in South Africa.

(Mr. Huslid, Norway)

On the other hand, the escalating violence is deeply disturbing. The massacres in Boipatong on 17 June and in Ciskei on 7 September loom as warnings of what the spiral of violence may lead to unless it is brought to an end. The violence constitutes a clear threat to the whole negotiation process and the democratization of South Africa. The Nordic countries have repeatedly condemned the violence and declared that all parties must take full responsibility on the basis of the principles contained in, and in cooperation with the structures under, the National Peace Accord of 14 September 1991. We urge the South African Government to shoulder its responsibility to protect the lives and property of its citizens. Other parties involved must also fully assume their responsibility in order to further the purposes of the National Peace Accord.

We take this opportunity to commend the work performed by Mr. Justice Goldstone's Commission of Inquiry. The integrity and courage demonstrated by Mr. Justice Goldstone merit our respect. The recommendations of his Commission contain valuable observations that ought to be taken into full consideration by all parties in South Africa.

The situation in South Africa prompted the Security Council to adopt resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992), which led to the decision to deploy 50 United Nations observers throughout South Africa in coordination with the structures set up under the National Peace Accord. We welcome the involvement of the Security Council in this grave situation. We fully support the deployment of those observers as well as of observers from other international organizations such as the Organization for African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Community. We hope that their combined presence and activities will contribute to calming the situation and reducing the level of violence in South Africa.

(Mr. Huslid, Norway)

The Nordic countries confirm their willingness to support the efforts in South Africa aiming at democratization and at bridging the enormous economic and social gaps which were caused by the apartheid system.

The Nordic countries look forward to the adoption by consensus of the draft omnibus resolution on international efforts towards the eradication of apartheid and support for the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. In this respect, we commend the Special Committee for the constructive approach it has demonstrated in preparing the text.

It is important that international solidarity be once again demonstrated with one voice in support of the reform process which is under way.

Mr. TRINH XUAN LANG (Viet Nam): This year we are discussing the item concerning the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa with renewed despair and concern. The euphoria stemming from the release of Mr. Mandela and the several positive developments that followed has turned out to be premature. In South Africa today, the system of apartheid continues to exist. While there has been progress to celebrate, there is much to be concerned about and much to overcome.

Objectively speaking, since the adoption in December 1989 of the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa), which became a historic landmark in the long and arduous struggle of the international community to abolish the system of apartheid in South Africa, the South African Government has instituted a number of reforms. Among them we should mention the repeal of major apartheid laws and the lifting of the ban on the activities of political parties and organizations. At one time, the signing of the National Peace Accord by the Pretoria regime, the African National Congress (ANC) and the other parties in September 1991

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once raised our hopes of seeing political violence ended in that country. Encouraging signs emanated from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). Unfortunately, looking back to this time last year when we were debating this same question, we cannot help being disappointed that South Africa today is not in a much better situation regarding the eradication of its system of apartheid.

In South Africa today, the apartheid structures continue to exist, though they have lost their legality. South Africa remains a country governed by a white minority where the black majority still does not have the right to vote or to participate in the organs of government.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

The continued existence of pieces of security legislation still severely restricts free and peaceful political activities. The consequences of unjust socio-economic infrastructures, which have been established and entrenched for a century and have brought about socio-economic inequalities among the citizens, continue to deprive the black majority of the most basic conditions that would enable them to enjoy their human rights and freedoms.

Though a number of political prisoners belonging to certain categories have been released, many continue to languish in South African jails, and the number of persons dying in police custody is escalating at an alarming rate. And most serious of all has been the outburst of politically motivated bloody violence in black townships, of which the Boipatong massacre came as a heart-breaking incident. All these factors, together with the problems arising in the CODESA process, have called into question the sincerity of the South African Government's intention to pursue peaceful negotiations towards the ending of apartheid and the building of a truly democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Year after year, together with the fierce internal resistance in South Africa under the leadership of the ANC and other progressive organizations, the international community has exerted great efforts to put an end to the abhorrent policies of apartheid. The United Nations has adopted many resolutions condemning the institutionalized racism and systematic racial discrimination embodied in such policies, and has time and again explicitly affirmed that the system of apartheid imposed on the South African people constitutes a gross violation of fundamental human rights and a crime against humanity, and must therefore be abolished.

The realities prevailing in South Africa today represent an uncertain and explosive situation, which requires that continued efforts be made and urgent

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measures be taken by the United Nations and all its Members if it is to be redressed.

Viet Nam has for decades expressed its solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and, while welcoming the positive changes towards abolishing apartheid in that country, it once again reiterates its unswerving support for, and solidarity with, the people of South Africa in their continued struggle to eradicate the system of apartheid and thereby to bring about peace, justice and racial equality based on majority rule. We call upon the South African regime fully to comply with all provisions of the United Nations Declaration on apartheid and to abide by the relevant United Nations resolutions. In order to create a climate conducive to peaceful negotiations, we urge the Pretoria regime to repeal all remaining discriminatory laws, release all remaining political prisoners, facilitate the return of all political exiles, address the concerns leading to the breakdown of negotiations with a view to resuming them and, most urgently, to take effective measures to end the bloody township violence. We support the legitimate demands of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa for the establishment of an elected constituent assembly in order to draw up the non-racial democratic constitution.

The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries meeting in Jakarta, Indonesia, last September launched an urgent appeal for unity among the liberation movements and democratic forces in South Africa at this crucial stage of the struggle against apartheid. In this forum, we would like to echo that appeal and express our hope that they will soon join forces in a united front.

In conclusion, we are pleased to note that recently, the South African Government and the ANC agreed to resume bilateral discussions on

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constitutional issues, and that the process would be extended to other organizations. We sincerely hope that the agreed resumption of talks will take place as planned, and we wish all participants success. We believe that agreement on the question of the constitution-making mechanism would make it possible to put in place the first phase of an interim government in South Africa that will take the responsibility of overseeing the transition to a new democratic constitutional order. Let me once again reiterate our solidarity with and support for the valiant people of South Africa, and our belief that, with their determination and spirit of reconciliation, the peace-loving people of South Africa will soon achieve their final goal: the building of a South Africa of peace, freedom and equality.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: On Monday, 23 November, in the afternoon, the General Assembly will consider agenda item 22 as the third item for that meeting, after agenda item 25 and agenda item 40.

On Wednesday, 25 November, in the morning, the Assembly will consider agenda item 18 and the report of the Fourth Committee on the item, after considering agenda item 139.

On Monday, 30 November, in the morning, the Assembly will take up agenda item 27.

On Tuesday, 8 December, in the morning, the Assembly will take up agenda item 36 and agenda item 48.

On Thursday, 10 December, in the morning, the Assembly will hold, under agenda item 97, a plenary meeting in connection with the opening ceremonies for the International Year for the World's Indigenous People. In the afternoon of the same day the Assembly will consider agenda item 32.

The list of speakers for all of these items is now open.

AGENDA ITEMS 33 AND 34 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/47/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/47/43)

(c) REPORT OF THE COMMISSION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS (A/47/45)

(d) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/525, A/47/559, A/47/574)

(e) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/47/616)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/513)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/47/L.15)

Mr. RAKOTONDRAMBOA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): The evolution of the situation in South Africa still makes us hold our breath and continues to worry us.

We welcomed the launching of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and found hope in the results of the referendum in which, for the first time, the white population, who have been benefiting from the apartheid system, showed us very clearly that they too were aspiring to building a motherland in which the colour of the skin would no longer be a factor of division, injustice and hate.

In the meantime, the South African Government has made changes in keeping with the Declaration on apartheid; it has carried out police reforms and recently announced that government posts would be opened up to people of colour.

The conclusion of the Memorandum of Agreement between President de Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela made it possible to reach a settlement of the

(Mr. Rakotondramboa, Madagascar)

question of political prisoners, a settlement which of course was defective but which could contribute to erasing old hatreds and to moving forward on a new footing.

The bilateral consultations between the Government and the various parties would seem to have led to a consensus on the need for an interim government.

These positive developments are unfortunately obscured by various disturbing phenomena. Despite the abolition of the legislative pillars of apartheid, the latter is still alive. Certain provisions of laws relating to security are still in force; amendments have been proposed and a new law has been enacted aimed at limiting political and individual freedom.

Resort to intimidation and violence renders the political situation explosive.

Sharpeville, Soweto, Boipatong, Bisho, Folweni and Mpushini: violence in South Africa seems to have become a sinister tradition.

Violence was the instrument of oppression and of repression used by the apartheid regime in defending its privileges. It remains such an instrument and serves today in the covert and implacable struggle among the parties interested in seizing power in tomorrow's South Africa. In order to help us break the vicious circle of violence, we call in particular upon the Government of South Africa no longer to tolerate the presence of mercenaries, either on its own territory or on the territory of the so-called independent homelands.

Inasmuch as political intolerance is one of the primary causes of violence, we also ask the South African authorities to ensure freedom of political activity in the homelands.

(Mr. Rakotondramboa, Madagascar)

In the light of the latest conclusions of the Goldstone Commission, we invite the Government to investigate fully the allegations implicating certain governmental forces in the raids against the townships.

In brief, we exhort the Government of South Africa to assume without bias its responsibilities as the guardian of law and order and to guarantee the security of all strata of society.

We are not unaware that the decisions taken with a view to ending the violence - in particular the ban on carrying dangerous weapons and the measures planned to ensure security of the dormitory camps - are encountering the obstinacy of parties determined to reject all peaceful settlement.

We can only regret the lack of transparency in the activities of the contending forces in South Africa. The contradiction between the protestations of innocence and the acts of violence on all sides impels us to ask ourselves how genuine is the desire of the parties to build a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Endorsing the recommendation addressed to the liberation movements and other progressive forces by the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on southern Africa that they should join together in a united front, my delegation notes, with great regret, the failure of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress of Azania meeting held at Harare and brought together by President Robert Mugabe.

In any event, the victims of violence are still the same. Today, like yesterday, they are the neediest and the most vulnerable part of the population. To the political leaders the blacks of the townships are anonymous faceless beings, without future; to the rest of the world they are

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mere statistics. They are good people, for the most part, who only want decent family lives, jobs and prosperity.

As if those individual tragedies were not enough, the economic situation, already in the throes of recession and weakened by drought, has been exacerbated by the prevailing climate of insecurity. Violence intimidates potential investors; it encourages the flight of capital and increases unemployment at all levels of society. Economic problems stress even more the existing disparity between the standard of living of blacks and whites. Despite the steps taken recently to assist them in the spheres of housing, health and education, the black population are still the first to suffer from the deterioration of their already deplorable social situation.

In this context, we have learned with satisfaction that the trade unions - the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) and the Federation of South African Labour (FEDSAL) - and the employers in South Africa have decided to join together in considering economic questions at a national economic forum.

The States Members of our Organization have shown constant interest in the birth of a new South Africa. To that end, they have been unsparing in their good will and generosity. However, the international community cannot replace the South Africans themselves, nor can it play a role that goes beyond the observer mandates of the various missions sent to the country. Ending violence, indeed, depends solely on the South Africans. Let them translate their will to succeed together, and let them begin by making peace among themselves in good faith, without hate or recrimination. If they do so, we are convinced that a new dawn will break in that part of the African continent.

Mr. KHAMSY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): At a time when a political solution is increasingly necessary to resolve the grave situation in South Africa in the current international context free of East-West confrontation, the Assembly has before it once again the "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa", an item which has been on its agenda for many consecutive years.

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

This debate is taking place as the entire international community is hopeful that this racialist policy and its destructive practices will at last be ended, and that a truly democratic, united and non-racial society will emerge in South Africa. In the past two years, South Africa has been the scene of important political events in its evolution towards that long-awaited society. The process to establish a framework for negotiations to put a peaceful end to apartheid resulted in the December 1991 convening of the first plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). It is encouraging to note that in their Declaration of Intent the parties to CODESA pledged to build an indivisible South Africa free of apartheid and to insist on certain fundamental constitutional principles.

No less important was the outcome of the 17 March 1992 referendum, which clearly showed that an overwhelming majority of white South Africans support the CODESA negotiating process aimed at peacefully organizing the democratic transition and at putting in place the machinery necessary to draft a new South African constitution.

But the positive developments of recent years remain in jeopardy owing to the obstacles erected by certain circles jealous of the privileges they enjoyed under the apartheid regime. Hence, the second CODESA session, held in May 1992, reached an impasse. Exacerbated by questions of constitutional procedure and disagreement over the allocation of votes in the new parliament or assembly, this is nothing less than a dispute over the very nature of democracy.

The difficulties facing CODESA II are compounded by the bloody repression of which the black population is always the victim. The problem of political

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

violence thus remains as grave as ever. Its negative consequences and the uncertainties it spawns complicate the transition process.

The international community was compelled yet again to express its profound concern at the brutal violence that in recent months has struck innocent civilians in the Boipatong and Ciskei massacres. As reflected in Security Council resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992), the international community is determined to enact concrete measures to support the efforts of the South African people to establish a democratic, united and non-racial society.

Thus, it is important that the CODESA negotiations resume as soon as possible in complete sincerity and good faith, and that urgent action be taken to end the genocidal violence that is a major obstacle to the process under way. It is impossible to overemphasize the fact that any setback in the negotiations would have disastrous consequences both inside and outside South Africa.

In that spirit the international community welcomed the results of the 26 September meeting between Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela. It hopes that the arrangements agreed upon at that meeting will help resolve the question of violence and will lead quickly to a resumption of the constitutional negotiations in the CODESA framework, and it appeals to all the parties to cooperate fully in this process, which is supported by the entire international community.

The international community, and in particular the United Nations, could considerably facilitate this process by strict compliance with the provisions of the relevant consensus resolutions, including General Assembly resolution

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46/79, which affirms that normalization of relations with South Africa depends on the progress made in the negotiations on the democratization of the country, and that the international community should strengthen its material support to that most vulnerable sector of the South African population which is the victim of discrimination and poverty in order to tackle the flagrant socio-economic evils that are the legacy of apartheid.

The international community's action and pressure against the Pretoria Government will certainly help speed the process towards the attainment of our noble shared objective: a truly non-racial, united and democratic South Africa.

Mr. QAISER (Pakistan): Any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous. All forms of racial discrimination, particularly governmental policies based on the prejudice of racial superiority or on racial hatred - besides constituting a violation of fundamental human rights - tend to jeopardize cooperation among nations and international peace and security.*

Those ideas form the core of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The United Nations Charter reaffirms the faith of the peoples of the United Nations in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.

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* Mr. Phoofolo (Lesotho), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Qaiser, Pakistan)

Apartheid in South Africa, on the other hand, is a system of unequal separation of racial groups established on the basis of skin colour with the objective of maintaining white supremacy and economic privilege through the disenfranchisement and oppression of the black majority population. Thus, not only is the apartheid system incompatible with the United Nations Charter; it also undermines the inherent human dignity which the Charter aims to uphold and protect.

The policies of apartheid in South Africa have defied universal condemnation for far too long. It is time that this edifice based on prejudice and racial superiority be pulled down by the forces of justice and equality. Developments in South Africa over the past two years have generally been encouraging. The National Peace Accord, signed on 14 September 1991, proved to be a major step towards an improvement of the climate for negotiations. The process of creating a negotiating framework towards the peaceful end of apartheid culminated in the launching in December 1991 of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) with the wide participation of political parties and groups in South Africa. The second plenary session of CODESA, held on 15 and 16 May, 1992, considered the reports of the five working groups set up by CODESA I and reached agreements on a number of issues including, inter alia, the transitional arrangements, the constitution-making process and the reincorporation of homelands. The results of the of 17 March 1992 referendum were encouraging in so far as they demonstrated that an overwhelming majority of white South Africans supported the process of change. My delegation was, however, shocked at the tragic massacre of almost 50 men, women and children in Boipatong on 17 June 1992, which forced the African National Congress (ANC) to pull out of the negotiating process. The massacre brought with it a new wave of anger, frustration and suspicion among

(Mr. Qaiser, Pakistan)

the black majority. My delegation shares the disappointment of the ANC leadership at the inadequate response of the South African authorities in investigating the underlying causes of the massacre and punishing those who were responsible for it.

It is a matter of deep concern for us that political violence continues to wreak havoc in the black townships, bringing the total number of those killed in 1992 alone to more than 3,400. Suspicion that the South African police was not acting efficiently or impartially to quell the violence, and that it was at times frequently involved in acts of violence, cannot be taken lightly. The unfortunate and tragic killing of more than 28 people in Bisho, Ciskei, on 6 September this year further aggravated the situation and deepened the scars left by the Boipatong massacre. It is the responsibility of the South African Government to remove the despair, anger and disappointment created among the black majority as a result of these events by a demonstration of goodwill and sincerity of purpose.

My delegation welcomes the decisions taken by the Security Council on 16 July and 17 August 1992 on the cycle of violence in South Africa, and supports the initiatives of the Secretary-General to assist the process in South Africa by strengthening the structures set up under the National Peace Accord, including the deployment of United Nations observers.

The political process in South Africa is still fragile and vulnerable and needs to be protected. The process leading to a peaceful and negotiated solution needs not only political will and tolerance among the leadership involved in the negotiations but also a climate of peace and harmony. My delegation welcomes the meeting between President de Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela and the decision of the African National Congress to return

(Mr. Qaiser, Pakistan)

to the CODESA negotiation process. The exploratory talks between the South African Government and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania are encouraging, and it is our hope that, with the creation of the right political climate in South Africa, all parties will be able to revive the CODESA process in the near future.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid recognizes that socio-economic inequalities, deeply rooted in decades of apartheid, continue to plague the majority of the South African population and could threaten to undermine peaceful and stable development through the transition period and beyond. Unemployment is increasing, and the number of unemployed is expected to reach 8 million by the end of the decade. Almost 2.5 million are not able to pay for their basic nutritional needs, and only 8 per cent of rural blacks are self-sufficient, while others depend on remittances from their relatives in the cities. Eighty-seven per cent of all land is in the hands of the white minority, which comprises only 13 per cent of the total population. Fifty-three per cent of the black population is living below the poverty line, as compared to only 2 per cent of the whites. It is time that these inequalities be removed and the black majority enabled to shoulder the responsibilities of Government and statehood.

There is a continuing need for the international community to remain seized of the apartheid question and to monitor the political process in South Africa closely. It has to respond in accordance with the developments taking place in South Africa. In this regard, the Government of Pakistan has consistently supported all the actions and resolutions of the United Nations aimed at eliminating the apartheid system.

(Mr. Qaiser, Pakistan)

In the same spirit it supported General Assembly resolutions calling for the phased lifting of sanctions against South Africa in tandem with the progress made in bringing about a democratic change in South Africa. In this connection my delegation also supports the decisions of the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement regarding the phased lifting of sanctions. It is, however, important for the present that appropriate pressure be maintained on South Africa until changes introduced by it constitute "evidence of profound and irreversible change", as visualized in the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid adopted at the special session of the General Assembly in 1989.

As a member of the Committee of the Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, Pakistan has participated actively in its consultations and decisions aimed at effectively carrying out the mandate of the Trust Fund. In the view of my delegation, it is important that the Fund and the international community continue to extend substantial legal, humanitarian and educational assistance to the people of South Africa to address the ongoing needs of the political prisoners, former political prisoners and returning exiles, and legitimate grievances resulting from the system of apartheid.

The Government and people of Pakistan have always stood by the oppressed majority in South Africa, and will continue to do so, in their struggle for their legitimate rights. We are confident that the resolute and concerted efforts on the part of the international community in the dismantling of the apartheid system will achieve fruition and that a new non-racial, united and democratic South Africa based on justice, equality, self-determination and majority rule will emerge from the ashes of the system of apartheid, thus closing one of the darkest chapters in human history.

Mr. HUARAKA (Namibia): My delegation had thought that when we made our intervention on this agenda item this year we would reflect on the progress of the peace process in South Africa, for the cessation of destabilization of neighbouring States and the establishment of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) encouraged our optimism that, indeed, a genuine change was taking place. Furthemore, on 17 March 1992, when the majority of white South Africans endorsed the reform process and thus its continuation by President de Klerk, that raised hopes that a new era of peace, cooperation and good-neighbourliness in southern Africa had begun - an era that would replace the old order of colonialism, destabilization and apartheid.

Whereas the white-only referendum did not amount to the abolition of apartheid in South Africa, we in Namibia welcomed it with the view that it heralded an atmosphere conducive to the process of the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Hence Africa, in its search for a peaceful solution in South Africa, through the Organization of African Unity, expressed its satisfaction with the negotiations within CODESA and went even further to urge those anti-apartheid and other democratic forces to unit, to utilize CODESA in accelerating the process of democratization in South Africa. Therefore the lack of progress in South Africa, as set forth in the Secretary-General's report in document A/47/574, is indeed a source of concern to my country.

As is well known, Namibia shared the tragic history of apartheid with South Africa. Therefore the total and final eradication of apartheid in South Africa will equally mark the final triumph of Namibia over apartheid and racism. In this respect, the current impasse in the negotiations in South Africa is thus a grave concern to Namibia.

(Mr. Huaraka, Namibia)

The world watched as the progress made during CODESA was stalled by the escalation of violence in South Africa. The Boipatong massacre on 17 June 1992 and the subsequent massacres in Ciskei on 7 September 1992 are just some of the incidents in the catalogue of indiscriminate killings occurring in South Africa. It saddens us to see that during the ongoing negotiations under CODESA thousands of people have been killed. We are outraged by the fact that among those hired to fill the ranks of the South African killer units is the notorious Koevoet, made up of Namibians in the service of the South African Government. This phenomenon of hiring mercenaries poses a threat to the peace and stability of the region. It is in this context that my delegation urges the Government of South Africa to use its power to stop the violence and pave the way for the resumption of negotiations.

The linkage between the socio-economic conditions and the ongoing violence cannot be overemphasized, for it boils down to the root causes of apartheid. For the majority of the people of South Africa, only when there is a unitary non-discriminatory education system, equal disbursement of resources, the provision of affordable housing and health care, abolition of the migrant labour system, and the right to vote for all, inter alia, will there have been change. We must not lose sight of the fact that violence in South Africa is the direct consequence of apartheid. It should be realized that the apartheid system was built and sustained by violence. Therefore, as long as the lack of participation in shaping their lives remains, violence will find South Africa a fertile soil in which to grow.

(Mr. Huaraka, Namibia)

It is now more than a year since the main legal features of apartheid were removed from the statute books. In our statement at the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly, we welcomed this step as a positive development, but equally we cautioned the Assembly that this was not sufficient to warrant the lessening of international pressure. Therefore the revelation by the anti-apartheid forces that there still remain in the statute books pieces of security legislation and provisions that impede free and peaceful political activity not only indicates the shortcomings of the ongoing reform but also inhibits those in exile who wish to return to South Africa.

(Mr. Huaraka, Namibia)

Furthermore, despite the announcement by the South African Government that political prisoners would be freed, the Human Rights Commission has reported that political prisoners still remain, while many others are on death row. Only two days ago the news media in Southern Africa reported that the three death-row prisoners - Stephan Mashinini, Samuel Mnisi and Jonathan Molema - in Mafeking Prison, Rooigrond, Bophuthatswana, in South Africa have received execution notices. We strongly urge the Government of South Africa to heed the pleas from numerous human rights groups and others not to carry out these executions.

Although the reforms already undertaken in South Africa have opened the door to giving peace a chance, the international community's view of that change has been disproportionate to the reality. Among other things, this has resulted in the hasty lifting of sanctions and thus in apartheid South Africa's being prematurely embraced. Thus, we are reminded on occasion that circumstances in South Africa have changed and that those changes should be reflected in our dealings with it. But if the majority of people in South Africa are still landless and voteless, what, then, has changed?

We wish to place on record that what we ask to see in South Africa is genuine change. To us, the end of violence is a prerequisite to negotiations, while the eradication of apartheid will bring about a genuine change, and that is what will bring lasting peace to southern Africa. Therefore, while we welcome the changes that have occurred in South Africa, we should not lose sight of the fundamental changes that remain to be carried out for a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa to emerge. It is in this spirit that my delegation commends the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for having requested the convening of a Security Council meeting on the question

(Mr. Huaraka, Namibia)

of violence in South Africa. We actively participated, and consequently we strongly support the involvement of the United Nations as well as of the OAU and all the other international organizations currently involved in South Africa.

But it must be realized, above all that the main casualty of the apartheid system is the humanity of the South African person - not only the African person, but people of other races, too. For the apartheid system deprives man of his humanity, and that is not easily restored by mere economic links. The wounds of apartheid must be healed by the people of South Africa themselves, when they are able to accept one another as South Africans. That has been the rationale of the international community's opposition to the apartheid policy of successive Governments of South Africa. The humanity of the South African person has not yet been restored. It would therefore be a pity if the international community gave up now.

The observation of mass action by the United Nations observers and the subsequent dispatch of 34 additional United Nations observers to South Africa are welcome events; they show the concern of the international community about the situation in South Africa and its commitment to facilitating change in that country.

While we welcome the actions taken so far by the Secretary-General, including the appointment of his Special Representative to South Africa, we wish the experience of the United Nations in Namibia to be borne in mind. In the case of Namibia, successive Governments of South Africa made it their policy to keep the United Nations out. As is well known, when finally the United Nations entered Namibia to implement resolution 435 (1978), the mere presence of United Nations forces shattered the myths and prejudices nurtured by the apartheid policy.

(Mr. Huaraka, Namibia)

Therefore, Namibia will urge a substantial increase in the United Nations forces in South Africa. The role of the United Nations in South Africa would, hopefully, very soon be transformed from monitoring violence to monitoring the transition from a racial South Africa to a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa. The question that my delegation poses is whether the United Nations is ready to undertake such a gigantic task. The United Nations should not be found wanting when the time comes to assist the people of South Africa to end apartheid.

We in Namibia unreservedly support a peaceful, negotiated end to apartheid and the creation of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. But at the same time, drawing on our own experience in dealing with successive South African Governments in the struggle and in negotiations on and during the transition, we maintain that the litmus test in ensuring the resumption of the negotiation process is not only the ending of the current violence itself but also the putting in place of an effective and durable mechanism to prevent the armed forces and security units from being used against those opposed to the Government.

Furthermore, to ensure lasting peace in South Africa, action by the international community should go beyond the dismantling of apartheid. We therefore welcome and endorse the conclusions of the seminar on South Africa's socio-economic problems and the future role of the United Nations system in helping to address them, which was held in Namibia this year. We welcome the preliminary assessment by the Chairman of the Special Committee and his identification of the broad points of reference for designing, organizing and complementing future technical cooperation between a new South Africa and the United Nations system.

(Mr. Huaraka, Namibia)

I would be failing in my duty if I did not express my delegation's appreciation for the educational assistance rendered to Namibian and South African students through the United Nations Education and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA). Indeed, notwithstanding the enormous educational problems confronting Namibia today, the students who benefited from UNETPSA are today applying their skills in the reconstruction and rebuilding of the country. We therefore join in calling on the international community to continue to make educational resources available to the people of South Africa.

Mr. ALLAREY (Philippines): The Philippines joins this debate to voice its encouragement of the people of South Africa to determine their future with wisdom and courage. It is under very trying circumstances that they must persevere in their choice to transform South Africa peacefully into a united, democratic and non-racial society.

We fully understand the complexity and the difficulty of the situation in South Africa. While the legal pillars of apartheid have been demolished, the concomitant attitudes and practices of apartheid remain entrenched. The decades-old policies of inequalities in education, housing, health and the economy have contributed to overall socio-economic instability and political volatility. Years of repression and oppression have bred a culture vulnerable to intimidation and violence. The cycle of violence that grips the country, which precipitated, in part, the breakdown of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), cannot therefore be neutralized with a stroke of the pen.

Thus, the Security Council acted decisively in convening on 15 and 16 July and 17 August 1992 to discuss specifically the alarming trend of violence in South Africa. The Philippines welcomes the decisions which emanated from these meetings. We commend the timely dispatch of a Special Envoy to South Africa and the sending of United Nations observers to help defuse the political tension and promote dialogue among the parties. We greatly value the presence of other observers sent there by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Commonwealth, the European Community and human rights organizations. They could serve as effective instruments in persuading the parties to continue serious and constructive negotiations on the future of South Africa. Their presence will serve to calm the situation and help curb tendencies by certain elements to sow discord and foment violence.

(Mr. Allarey, Philippines)

There have been positive developments of late on which to build trust and good will among the parties. The recent release by the South African Government of political prisoners is a case in point. We share the joy of their reunion with their families and friends after long years of incarceration. The decision to secure hostels and prohibit the carrying and display of dangerous weapons will also help lessen insecurity and fear among average South Africans. In this connection, we call on the South African authorities to exercise the primary responsibility of any government: to bring an end to violence, protect the lives and property of all and bring the perpetrators of violence to justice. We also urge the parties to honour their commitments as signatories to the National Peace Accord and the interim agreement reached between the parties on the conduct of public demonstrations, an agreement based on recommendations made by the Goldstone Commission.

The Philippines is pleased to note that at their summit meeting last September Mr. Nelson Mandela and President F. W. de Klerk reached agreement on a number of issues, among them was that of a democratically elected constituent assembly with a fixed time-frame and an adequate deadlock-breaking mechanism. We also note that an interim government would be set up under a transitional constitution and that the constituent assembly would act as the interim parliament. We consider this agreement a major breakthrough since it has removed a major obstacle which led to the failure of CODESA II last May. We hope that the negotiation process will now be able to move forward.

As a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Philippines is convinced that the international community has the will and the power to help create the conditions for South Africa to transform itself into what we envisage as a united, non-racial and democratic society. Moral, material and financial assistance would be necessary to address South Africa's serious

(Mr. Allarey, Philippines)

socio-economic problems. How these problems are addressed will determine, in the long term, what kind of society will rise from the ruins of apartheid.

The future of South Africa, at this juncture, is in the hands of its people. It is a time of risk and opportunity. It is a time for men and women of conviction and moral courage to adhere to the peaceful process of negotiations despite overwhelming odds. The decisions they make now in shaping their future will determine their legacy to their children and their children's children. We wish them success in the arduous work ahead.

Mr. ACHARYA (Nepal): Apartheid undermines the dignity and worth of human beings and condemns them to live in subhuman conditions. This institutionalized system of racism, which has rightly been condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity, is an affront to the conscience and dignity of mankind. It is therefore a collective responsibility and duty of the international community to see to South Africa's successful transition to a democratic society.

Ever since the adoption of the historic Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in South Africa (resolution S-16/1), profound changes have taken place within and outside South Africa to transform it into a united, non-racial and democratic society. The lifting of the ban on political parties, the repeal of the major legal pillars of apartheid and the holding of talks between the Pretoria regime and the major political parties were indeed welcome developments. Nepal welcomes any development that leads to the acceleration of the process of eradicating apartheid from South Africa. It was with this conviction that Nepal welcomed the National Peace Accord of 1991 and the setting up of a negotiating process under the framework of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

(Mr. Acharya, Nepal)

Despite some positive developments for creating a climate for negotiations, there remain serious obstacles in the CODESA process. The major obstacle to the South African people's exercise of political will has, however, been the persistence of ongoing violence inside South Africa. The Boipatong and Ciskei massacres earlier this year, when the negotiations were passing through a very critical phase, resulted in the total breakdown of negotiations. These and other incidents of violence have created uncertainty and greatly diminished the prospects for a negotiated settlement of the South African crisis.

My delegation believes that controlling violence and protecting the lives of innocent people in South Africa is the primary responsibility of the South African Government. This is particularly true when there exists mounting evidence of the complicity of the Government's security forces in instigating the spate of violence. The South African Government's sincerity and will for engaging in serious negotiations must be matched by its ability and willingness to curb violence in South African townships. In this context my delegation welcomed the convening of the summit meeting between Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. F. W. de Klerk on 26 September this year that resulted in the signing of the joint Record of Understanding. Nepal believes that such a move will greatly contribute to accelerating the CODESA process, which was halted abruptly in June this year. My delegation also welcomes the Security Council statement of 10 September 1992 on the question of the recurrent cycle of violence in South Africa. The efforts of the Secretary-General in dispatching a fact-finding mission and his determination to deploy United Nations observers to create a climate conducive to the resumption of negotiations were very constructive.

(Mr. Acharya, Nepal)

The ongoing violence, the degenerating socio-economic landscape, rampant unemployment among the blacks and their frustration over the lack of progress in eliminating apartheid peacefully may push South Africa further towards the brink of civil war. The price of delaying the transfer of South Africa into a united, non-racial and democratic society would be enormous not only for South Africa but also for the region and beyond. My delegation, therefore, urges all the people of South Africa to enter into urgent negotiations for setting up an interim government that would administer the country and elect the constituent assembly for drafting a new constitution.

The South African people cannot remain under the cruelty of apartheid any longer. The international community, therefore, must continue to support the objectives and goals of the 1989 consensus Declaration, and lend political and moral support to the oppressed people of South Africa in their just struggle for liberation from apartheid oppression.

At a time when the process towards dismantling apartheid through negotiations has reached a new and critical stage, it is extremely important to continue to impose economic sanctions and a mandatory arms embargo on the minority Pretoria regime as a means of ensuring a speedy end to apartheid. We therefore call on the international community to continue to impose phased economic sanctions until profound and irreversible changes have taken place in South Africa.

We would also like to appeal to the signatories of the National Peace Accord to demonstrate political will and commitment in implementing the elements of the Accord, which provides a sound basis for transforming South Africa into a democratic and non-racial society in conformity with the objectives of the 1989 consensus Declaration.

(Mr. Acharya, Nepal)

Nepal will continue to be guided by the policies of the Non-Aligned Summit and all relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions aimed at eliminating apartheid. We would also like to reiterate our solidarity with and support for the oppressed people of South Africa in their legitimate and valiant struggle for the total eradication of apartheid and for the establishment of a united, non-racial democratic South Africa.

Mr. WORONIECKI (Poland): The recent impasse in constitutional negotiations, accompanied by an abrupt surge of violence resulting in deplorable bloodshed in South Africa, has given rise to the international community's justified concern about the situatlon in the country. The strong and decisive stand the Secretary-General and the Security Council have taken on the issue of violence in South Africa has been welcomed not only by world public opinion but by the South African Government itself. In our view that is a very encouraging sign indeed.

The process of building a new, democratic South Africa free of apartheid is encountering new challenges, temporary setbacks and, unfortunately, unnecessary casualties. Nevertheless, that should in no way cast a shadow over the truly historical dimension of the changes that have taken place in South Africa since September 1989 when President F. W. de Klerk assumed office. Poland remains deeply convinced that the process of elimination of apartheid in South Africa has reached its final stage and the point of no return to the previous policies and practice. Our conviction is based not only on the scope of structural political changes that have taken and are still taking place there but also on the fact that the world today is so much different from what it was only a couple of years ago. Would anybody believe now that the Berlin Wall might be reconstructed or that the Eastern European

(Mr. Woroniecki, Poland)

countries, discouraged by the slow and painful process of transition to market economies, might return to the previous political system, or that that system might be reimposed by external forces?

The irreversible character of changes in South Africa is of the utmost importance to the Polish Government and Polish society in evaluating the situation as it evolves. Whether the process of changes leading to the total eradication of apartheid and the creation of a new, democratic South Africa will prove to be peaceful and based on negotiations still remains a valid question. For the democratic Republic of Poland, proud of its peaceful and bloodless transformation from the past to the new political system, the main criterion for evaluating the actions and programmes of the leading political forces in South Africa is their attitude to the use of violence as an instrument to achieve political goals.

That is why the Government of Poland is, and will continue to be, against all attempts to solve South Africa's difficult internal problems through the use of force.

The cooperation of all the parties concerned is of the utmost importance in helping to overcome the violence which, in turn, generates a climate hostile to negotiations. Therefore, we welcome with great satisfaction the results of the meeting on 26 September 1992 between President F. W. de Klerk and the President of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Nelson Mandela.

We join the appeals of the international community calling on all interested parties and political forces in South Africa to resume immediately constitutional negotiations and to continue along the path of the significant

(Mr. Woroniecki, Poland)

progress that has been made under the umbrella of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

My country will follow further developments with the utmost attention, in the hope that the conclusions emanating from the resumed preliminary meetings will be fully implemented, and that full-scale negotiations, with the participation of the wide representation of South African society, will begin soon.

The Polish Government welcomes with great satisfaction the growing involvement of the international community, and in particular of the United Nations, in supporting the process of democratic changes under way in South Africa. We highly appreciate the conduct and the results of the mission of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Cyrus Vance. That the recommendations contained in the report of his mission have been accepted by the Government, as well as by the main political forces of South Africa, is a good sign indeed for their future co-operation with the United Nations. Nevertheless, we share the view that the role of the United Nations, and possibly of other international organizations and institutions, in solving the problems of South Africa is only of a supplementary character.

(Mr. Woroniecki, Poland)

The future of South Africa rests in the hands of its citizens, and only their freely expressed will may decide what that country's political system and constitution will eventually be like. That is why, in our view, the idea of the participation of United Nations observers in the work of already functioning, local conciliatory mechanisms within the structures of the National Peace Accord deserves the strong support of the international community.

Poland is ready, if requested, to take part in such a United Nations presence and to be constructively involved in South Africa. The Government of Poland is convinced that the support of the international community for the process of peaceful and democratic changes in South Africa should be as broad and multifaceted as possible. Given the significant progress in democratic reforms in South Africa and the simultaneous dramatic worsening of that country's socio-economic situation, the continuation of limited but nevertheless painful sanctions and economic restrictions should, in our opinion, be reconsidered in the light inter alia of their validity and the purpose they were intended to serve. We share the concern of some delegations that political and systemic reforms alone, if not supported by economic growth and the speedy solution of South Africa's vast socio-economic problems, will not ensure the lasting peace and prosperity of that country and of the entire region.

Halting the worsening crisis in South Africa's economy is important not only to that country's internal interests. It must be seen in a wider international - and especially pan-African - context. The world today cannot sit idly by and allow the South African economy to slide into an abyss. It must take more positive and decisive action, bearing in mind the fact that the economy of South Africa has entered on the path of serving all of that

(Mr. Woroniecki, Poland)

country's inhabitants while remaining, at the same time, a vital part of the economic structure of the African continent.

In conclusion, I should like to express the opinion of the Polish delegation that the role that has been played by the United Nations in combating violence and encouraging the multiparty negotiations leading to peace and democratic changes in South Africa should be continued, albeit with some modifications dictated by the course of events. Given the present situation in that country, the United Nations role should now concentrate more on the coordination of United Nations efforts with those of the National Peace Accord structures along the lines set out in Security Council resolution 772 (1992). That would greatly facilitate the process of national reconciliation, heal wounds and prevent the socio-economic conditions in the country from deteriorating further as a result of violence.

In our view, the time may have come for South Africa to become a partner once again in the wide-ranging dialogue within the United Nations system and the international community as a whole. From such a dialogue, if reinstated, all the inhabitants of South Africa would unquestionably benefit, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed, and so would the peace, security and well-being of the continent.

Mr. VASILYEV (Belarus) (interpretation from Russian): For many years the United Nations has been making persistent efforts to eliminate apartheid in South Africa. The Security Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies have adopted numerous resolutions on this question, among which we may single out the exceptional importance of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, which was adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session.

(Mr. Vasilyev, Belarus)

The Secretary-General's reports submitted for our consideration and the documents of the Special Committee against Apartheid, as well as the statements made in the current debate, bear witness to the fact that the United Nations is not only continuing to follow the situation in South Africa closely but also taking practical steps to implement its decisions. The Republic of Belarus supports the efforts of the United Nations and expresses its readiness to seek new, constructive steps at this session of the General Assembly.

We agree with the many representatives who have spoken here that the current situation in South Africa gives rise to conflicting emotions. On the one hand, we note with satisfaction that the South African authorities are taking positive measures to create a more favourable atmosphere for negotiations, including the repeal of basic apartheid laws, the review of fundamental security legislation and the release of the remaining political detainees. A considerable influence on the further course of the talks and on the attitude of the world community towards South Africa has been exerted by the outcome of the referendum held in the Republic of South Africa in February of 1992 and the sessions of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

On the other hand, as the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid emphasizes, the political process in the country is unstable and vulnerable. There are still obstacles to the creation of a climate favourable to free political activity. One matter that causes particular anxiety and concern to the international community is the wave of violence in South Africa, which is threatening the vital interests of the entire population and setting up serious obstacles to the negotiation process.

(Mr. Vasilyev, Belarus)

Of great importance in this connection are Security Council resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992), which are aimed at effectively ending the violence and creating conditions for the resumption of multilateral negotiations. The dispatch of United Nations observers to South Africa has met with a positive response. Those observers are taking vigorous action for the implementation of the Secretary-General's recommendations in cooperation with the structures set up under the National Peace Accord.

In our opinion, a constructive basis for the resumption of talks within the CODESA framework should be provided by the agreements reached between President de Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), which provide inter alia for the setting up of a democratic constituent assembly and assurances of constitutional continuity during the transition period.

The successful conclusion of the political-settlement process and the creation of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa require not only political will and tolerance on the part of the participants in the talks but also internal peace within the country. It is essential that violence used as a means for the attainment of political objectives should be eradicated from the life of society. There is a need to resume without delay the talks on transitional arrangements and the basic principles for reaching agreement on a new constitution and its early entry into force. This is the appeal made to all parties by the Special Committee in its report (A/47/22).

At the present crucial stage in South Africa's history, the United Nations must, we believe, take further steps to consolidate the efforts of the international community in order to attain the objectives set forth in the Declaration on Apartheid with a view to the creation of a non-racial and democratic society in that country.

(Mr. Vasilyev, Belarus)

In conclusion, the delegation of the Republic of Belarus would like to express support for the draft resolution on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and to announce that Belarus has joined in sponsoring the draft resolution.

Mr. KHOUINI (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): Allow me, first of all, to thank the Secretary-General, the Special Committee Against Apartheid and the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa for the excellent reports submitted under this agenda item.

The general debate on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa is taking place this year at a time when there is every reason to hope that South Africa will be transformed into a democratic and non-racial society. The end of the cold war era and the prospects for the establishment of a new world order, under which, as all peoples hope, all forms of racial discrimation will be banished forever, should further encourage us to move forward with a view to the total eradication of the degrading phenomenon of apartheid.

That hope has been given concrete expression in the last two years by some encouraging initiatives aimed at dismantling the system of apartheid. The freeing of political prisoners, even though it is not yet complete, the return of exiles and the repeal of certain legislative texts that have formed the pillars of apartheid are all factors that encourage the international community to work without respite to end a policy that has been applied for long decades against the will of the majority of the people.

In that context, the United Nations has, of course, played an important role in the establishment of the dialogue that began in December 1991 in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I), which has yielded some

(Mr. Khouini, Tunisia)

results. However, the continuation of that dialogue in CODESA II, in May 1992, resulted in failure because it was impossible to reach agreement on bases that would have provided for a peaceful transition through the establishment of an interim Government. That failure, unfortunately, slowed down the impetus that had existed at the beginning of the process, a fact which has given rise to consternation and concern in the international community.

After the negotiations were broken off, my country became concerned at the wave of violence that ravaged the country, casting doubt on all the efforts made since the beginning of the process. Last June's Boipatong township massacre, which my country strongly condemned at the time, illustrated the gravity of the situation and demonstrated the fragility of the process, a process dependent on the attitude of the ruling Government, which bears sole responsibility for security in the townships.

Indeed, despite the efforts of the Security Council, which adopted resolution 765 (1992) condemning the violence and calling on the South African authorities to take immediately such measures as were necessary for putting an end to that violence and prosecuting the perpetrators, the situation is still highly explosive. A second wave of violence began in September 1992 at Bisho in the Ciskei, where police forces opened fire on unarmed African National Congress (ANC) demonstrators, killing many people.

Tunisia is convinced - as it has always been in the case of just causes, such as that of the Palestinian people and its right to enjoy the experience and the application of fundamental freedoms - that the vicious circle caused by violence and repression must be broken, and as regards South Africa, it must be broken through dialogue and negotiation, so that a democratic, unified

(Mr. Khouini, Tunisia)

and non-racial society can be set up. That is why my country, in the person of Mr. Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, President of the Republic, on 12 October last, at the observance of the international Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, welcomed the decision of the Government of South Africa to free certain political prisoners. Such a measure deserves to be encouraged because it is likely to promote the negotiation process, the objective of which is to dismantle apartheid totally and to hasten the advent in South Africa of a non-racial society based on respect for human rights, equality, justice and liberty for all.

My country fervently calls for the establishment of such a society. It welcomes the meeting between Nelson Mandela, President of the ANC, and President de Klerk on 26 September 1992, the crowning achievement of which was agreement on key questions relating to the security of hostels and the freeing of other political prisoners. It also welcomes the fact that a second agreement has been reached on the need to set up a constituent assembly to ensure constitutional continuity during the interim period of transition.

My delegation notes with satisfaction that steps have been taken along the road of advancing the process of change. It commends the praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General in helping to resolve the crisis. The appointment of a Special Representative and the deployment of United Nations observers in accordance with the relevant decisions of the Security Council has without doubt been of great help in making the spirit of dialogue and agreement prevail. These United Nations missions, which represent a new element in the settlement of the South African question, have been working without respite to carry out their mandate conscientiously.

(Mr. Khouini, Tunisia)

We would also like to voice our gratitude to the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to the Commonwealth and to the European Community for having deployed observers who operate jointly with the United Nations Observer Mission and who are making a positive contribution to the peace process.

It may be useful to recall that the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1989, in which all Member States have committed themselves to exerting pressure on Pretoria to ensure the speedy abolition of apartheid, remains valid so long as there is no tangible proof of an irreversible change in accordance with the objectives of that Declaration.

(Mr. Khouini, Tunisia)

It is for the Pretoria Government to convince us of its good faith and to remove from our minds all doubts as to its desire to move forward as the South African people and the world community as a whole want it to do.

My delegation would like once again to reaffirm that the international community must continue to follow the situation in South Africa closely and to remain vigilant with regard to all acts that might compromise the democratic process. Therefore we exhort all the parties, especially the Government of South Africa, to redouble their efforts with a view to securing the definitive establishment of a transition mechanism that would open the way to a new, democratic, united and non-racial South Africa based on freedom, dignity and equality for all citizens.

Mr. MUSUKA (Zambia): The Assembly is once again meeting to review the situation in South Africa - a situation that, in many respects, remains precarious and, indeed, continues to be a source of deep concern to the international community. As the reports that are before the Assembly attest, more must be done if the peace process, now stalled, is to gather momentum.

I wish, in this regard, to express my delegation's sincere gratitude to my brother and colleague Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, and the members of that important Committee for the timely and informative report contained in document A/47/22. Similarly, I wish to pay a deserved tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, for his third progress report on the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. These two reports complement each other and provide an essential basis for our present deliberations.

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

The struggle against apartheid has been waged on many fronts - for instance, through the oil embargo against South Africa, which, over the years, has proved to be effective. It is therefore fitting that I should take a moment to extend a congratulatory word to my colleague Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi of Tanzania, Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, for his report, which is contained in document A/47/43. This report makes disturbing revelations concerning repeated violations of the oil embargo. We are alarmed at the high number of reported violations during the period under review.

We appeal to those involved to end these illicit activities. We believe that this is not the time to lift the oil embargo, as some are advocating. We therefore agree with the conclusions, contained in the report, that premature lifting of the oil embargo against South Africa would be counter-productive and would undermine the negotiating process and that the embargo should be lifted only when an interim government representative of the majority of the population of South Africa has been established and when such a government requests that it be lifted.

This Assembly has rightly described apartheid as a crime against humanity. It is indeed an affront against the conscience of mankind. The injustice and indignities visited upon the black majority in South Africa over the years through that evil system are despicable and unacceptable. However, following the adoption, on 14 December 1989, of the historic Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, the world witnessed a number of significant developments in South Africa during 1990, 1991 and 1992. These developments are well documented, and this Assembly is fully aware of them. I shall not, therefore, dwell on them in detail. Instead, I shall comment on the most important developments.

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

The oppressed people of South Africa have demonstrated beyond doubt their readiness to negotiate a peaceful change in order to establish a democratically elected Government. Further, their readiness to negotiate peacefully has been amply demonstrated by their participation in the peace talks within the framework of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). The major achievement of the first session of CODESA was the participants' adoption of a Declaration of Intent committing themselves to bringing about an undivided South Africa free of apartheid and to the establishment of five working groups to deal with major points of contention - the creation of a climate for free political participation; general constitutional principles; transitional arrangements; reincorporation of the homelands; and the time-frames and implementation of CODESA's decisions.

In September 1991 the African National Congress (ANC) and a number of other anti-apartheid organizations signed the National Peace Accord with the Government, which is aimed at ending political violence in South Africa.

In terms of the provisions of the United Nations Declaration on apartheid, responsibility for the creation of the necessary climate for free political discussion lies with the Government of South Africa. This is one of the requirements with which South Africa has not fully complied. The situation in South Africa today is unsatisfactory and worrying, as the spate of violence escalates at an alarming rate. Mass killings are now commonplace, and the Government seems unable to contain the situation. In fact, the euphoria generated by the Government's dismantling of the main legislative pillars of apartheid has vanished. In the present conditions no genuine negotiations can be expected to take place unless the South African Government takes the necessary steps to end the violence in that country.

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

According to the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, violence reached unprecedented and dramatic levels during the period under review. In August 1992, for example, 348 people died of political violence, bringing the total number of victims since the signing of the National Peace Accord to more than 3,400. The Boipatong tragedy of 17 June 1992 and the Ciskei massacre of 7 September 1992 are but a few examples of the mass killings taking place in South Africa with sickening regularity.

It is undeniable that there is no alternative to negotiations in South Africa but negotiations can take place only in conditions of peace. We therefore call on the Government of South Africa to address the question of political violence effectively. We believe that the Government has not handled this disturbing situation well. As is stated by the Special Committee against Apartheid, both the reports of Amnesty International entitled "South Africa: A State of Fear" and that of the International Commission of Jurists entitled "Agenda for Peace" were very critical of the South African Government's inability to stop the violence. Both stressed the role played by the security forces as well as the Inkatha Freedom Party in the violence. The Goldstone Commission also criticized the Government's failure to take sufficient firm steps to prevent criminal conduct by members of the security forces and to punish the perpetrators. We endorse the recommendation by the Goldstone Commission that the South African Government should, as a matter of urgency, ban the carrying of all dangerous weapons in public.

The people of South Africa yearn for peace, justice and freedom. To achieve these lofty objectives they need and deserve the assistance of the international community. In this regard it is our view that the involvement of the United Nations in the ongoing process is essential for the successful

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

and sustainable outcome that we all seek. The level of mistrust among the parties and the Government cannot be diminished without the presence of international observers in the ongoing process.

Zambia therefore welcomed the establishment in South Africa of the United Nations Observer Mission, which is working in close cooperation with other observers from the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). However, we believe that the 44 United Nations observers currently deployed in South Africa to cover the entire country are not sufficient. There is a compelling need to increase this number.

We in Zambia have been deeply concerned at the lack of unity among the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa. Without unity of purpose the oppressed majority in South Africa will remain oppressed for a long time. To this end we believe that it is important to take seriously the timely advice of the summit meeting of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State and Government on Southern Africa, which met at Gaborone, Botswana, last month, urging the democratic forces to work together and forge a common platform against the last vestiges of apartheid. It is also important that the negotiations with the Government be resumed.

In conclusion, the people of South Africa can live in peace and tranquillity only if they join hands to eradicate apartheid and establish democracy based on the universally recognized principles. In this regard, we call on the Government of South Africa to match its pronouncements with concrete actions for the establishment of a new era in South Africa, an era that recognizes the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all South Africans. We also call on all the anti-apartheid organizations in that country to unite in their struggle against apartheid. Indeed, time for change in South Africa is long overdue.

Mr. PALLAIS (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): Nicaragua is once again taking part in the General Assembly debate on the subject of apartheid. We have done so in the past and we shall continue to do so, in order to show our solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle for the elimination of the apartheid regime. We are convinced that with these demonstrations of support and with the coordinated efforts of the international community and the United Nations since 1952, the peace, democracy and development which we have begun to establish in Central America will one day be a reality for the people of South Africa too.

Today we have the honour to be speaking also on behalf of Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Panama. We are therefore spokesmen for the position of the Central American countries as a whole.

The efforts made by the people of South Africa and the international community have gained fresh momentum since 1989 when this Assembly adopted the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. In particular, paragraph 8 of the Declaration lays down guidelines for promoting the process of negotiation in South Africa. The Declaration has become a universal measure for coordinating, evaluating and providing the proper follow-up for the process of change which should lead to a democratic, free and united South Africa, in which the vestiges of racial discrimination against the black population of South Africa are completely eliminated.

(Mr. Pallais, Nicaragua)

As this century draws to a close the main events that have been shaping the development of mankind, the growing rule of law and the efforts for peace being made by the United Nations should yield fruit. The challenge now is to achieve genuine peace without the threat of war, without the vestiges of colonialism, without racial discrimination and without apartheid.

Our Governments believe it necessary to make the most of every opportunity provided by the new spirit in international relations, which encourages a measured approach and the use of peaceful means in order to alleviate existing international tensions. Central America, which promotes, respects and supports these principles, resolutely supports the efforts and the role of the Organization and, in particular, the role of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

We all hope that dialogue and negotiation will prevail, as there is broad agreement on the need to eradicate apartheid from the face of the Earth. In December 1991 this hope and this spirit of negotiation were welcomed and praised by the Assembly when, in the same debate, we commended the holding of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I), whose successful results were reflected in the adoption of the Declaration of Intent, in which the parties undertook to create a South Africa without divisions, free of apartheid and in which the parties adhere to certain fundamental constitutional principles.

The step taken in CODESA I was subsequently consolidated in a referendum held in February 1992, when the white electorate expressed its wish that President de Klerk continue with the process of reform that had begun in 1990, with a view to establishing a constitution through negotiation.

In that spirit that we believe that the international community and so that the hopes that have emerged in South Africa will not be frustrated, the

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International community must today more than ever before step up its efforts by expediting the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and by complying with the mandates contained in Security Council resolutions on this subject. Nicaragua, as a member of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, concurs with the recommendations that that Group has submitted in its report (A/47/43). Despite its recognition of the constructive steps that have been taken, the Group warns of the potentially adverse effects of a premature lifting of the oil embargo against South Africa. For this reason, it seems appropriate to us, as recommended by the Intergovernmental Group, that that embargo be lifted once a provisional Government has been established that represents the majority of the population of South Africa, and once that Government makes a request to that effect.

The path towards freedom and democratization for the people of South Africa has been long and fraught with difficulties. We understand how arduous is this process of change towards democracy, and we also know that it is complex and controversial. The Government of Nicaragua, presided over by Mrs. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, which is fostering a policy of national reconciliation, believes that in this effort it is vital to obtain real commitments that make it possible for negotiations to succeed.

That is why the delegations of the Central American countries are concerned that the second session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA II), held in May 1992, did not achieve the hoped-for success. None the less, we believe it important to promote the agreements on which consensus already existed at that session, in particular to the effect that

"The transition to democracy would involve two preliminary phases. During a first phase, a multi-party Transitional Executive Council would

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level the political playing field and prepare the country for elections. In a second phase, an assembly elected by proportional representation and universal suffrage would elaborate and adopt a new constitution." (A/47/22, para. 10 (a))

and that

"All security forces should be placed under the control of the transitional governmental structures and held accountable to the public." (A/47/22, para. 10 (c))

Our delegations also agree with those who have urged the South African authorities to take all measures necessary in cooperation with all the political parties and in coordination with the United Nations to put an end to the violence and thus make it possible for the negotiation process to resume. We hope that as a demonstration of the will to negotiate, the Government of South Africa will truly respect its commitments, particularly those relating to the release of all political prisoners and the cessation of trials of persons who protest against existing repressive laws.

We wish to thank Mr. Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, who in his capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid initiated the debates in the Assembly on this subject. The Committee's report (A/47/22), gives an important and complete account of the main developments in South Africa over the past six months. The report stresses the need to return to the spirit of the peace agreements signed on 14 September 1991 by 23 parties, including the Government of South Africa and the African National Congress.

The wave of violence, which has reached tragic proportions in this period, must be contained if the negotiations are to continue. This was clearly affirmed in the deliberations held in the Security Council on 16 July, following the events of Boipatong. Security Council resolution 765 (1992),

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adopted at the time, condemned the violence and strongly urged the South African authorities to take immediate measures to put an end to the violence. That resolution also invited the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative for South Africa.

The countries of Central America are particularly pleased that, in resonse to that resolution, the Secretary-General has appointed Mr. Cyrus Vance as his Special Representative. We also support the recommendations made by Mr. Vance, following his visit to South Africa, that the Goldstone Commission be given the support of the international community, and that the recommendations of that Commission be applied rapidly and completely.

In conclusion, my delegation endorses the final document of the Summit Meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Jakarta, Indonesia, in September, which reiterated the need for Member States to take coordinated and concerted action until an irrerversible stage is reached in the process of negotiation towards the establishment of an egalitarian, non-racial society in South Africa.

In the words of the Secretary-General,

> "The role of the international community ... can ... only be complementary to those of the various political groups in the country. Their participation, goodwill and political courage are essential for success. Responsibility for achieving a just and long-lasting agreement through negotiation must rest with the South Africans themselves. ... the United Nations will continue to seek creative ways to assist the people of South Africa as a whole to attain the goals that they have set for themselves" (A/47/574, para. 11).

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and resolution 43/177 of 15 December 1988, I now call on the Permanent Observer of Palestine.

Mr. AL-KIDWA (Palestine): We stand here today before the General Assembly addressing an issue of the utmost importance to the world at large. The question of South Africa has been on the agenda of the United Nations since 1946. The international community has expressed its determination to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa time and time again in years past by adopting a number of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions concerning the dismantlement of the racist apartheid system in South Africa, and calling upon the Pretoria regime to establish a non-racial democracy. However, the suffering of the black majority in South Africa continues. It is still denied the most basic elements of human rights.

The black majority of South Africa has struggled for many decades to end its suffering. It has not only appealed for assistance from the international community to help it end apartheid, but also organized itself at home, at every level of its society, in its resistance to the evils of the system of apartheid, a system that has denied it proper housing, health care and education; a system that has denied black children the right to live in peace and prosperity and does not even allow them the opportunity to develop and grow - and their only crime is their colour, black. Indeed, the black majority of South Africa organized itself and said "no" to repression and denial and "yes" to freedom and democracy. It garnered the support of many nations, which resulted in the imposition of sanctions, among many other measures of political constraint, against the Pretoria regime.

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In essence, the struggle of the black majority of South Africa has been and continues to be the major catalyst in engaging the international community's attention concerning its plight and in turn created the political force that triggered the current negotiation process. It was indeed the struggle of the black majority in South Africa that led to the retraction of some of the Pretoria regime's practices - an example of this is the recent release of political prisoners. The launching of the first session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I) in Johannesburg on 20 and 21 December 1991, and the second session of CODESA subsequently, on 15 and 16 May 1992, led to some positive steps. However, the overall situation remains volatile. Apartheid remains the rule of law for the black majority. It is our firm conviction that the United Nations should intensify its efforts to reach a solution to the question of South Africa. The United Nations, and specifically the Security Council, must remain seized of the question of South Africa and should actively contribute to the current negotiation process in order to ensure its continuity and success, ultimately leading to the establishment of a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Moreover, although some progress has been made as a result of negotiations, the sanctions against the Pretoria regime should be maintained and should be lifted only gradually as progress is made towards the formation of an interim government of national unity and the establishment of a democratically elected constituent assembly. The voice and support of the international community continue to be a major factor in achieving a just and lasting peace in South Africa. We condemn the recent wave of violence against the blacks of South Africa, especially the massacre at Boipatong on

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17 June 1992 and the Ciskei massacre of 7 September 1992. Furthermore, we deplore the inadequacy shown by the South African police when it allowed these massacres to be committed.

As Palestinians, we attach special importance to the question of South Africa. Our history is similar; our suffering and reason for being repressed and our hopes and aspirations are the same. We have organized ourselves and have struggled for freedom and independence and for our right to self-determination. The question of Palestine has also been on the agenda of the United Nations since 1948. It is of paramount importance that the United Nations remain seized of the question of Palestine, as of the question of South Africa, to guarantee a just and lasting solution to the problem.

On behalf of my delegation, I should like to take this opportunity to commend the Committee against Apartheid for its relentless work. The support it lends the black majority of South Africa in combating racism and racial discrimination is significant. We also extol the work of the Centre against Apartheid.

Document A/47/22, "Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid", sets forth the current developments in South Africa in a skilful and accurate manner. We support it in structure and content and endorse the recommendations it contains. In addition, we express our concern about the continuing collaboration between South Africa and Israel, especially in the military and nuclear fields.

On behalf of the Palestinian people we should like to express solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa in their quest for self-determination, freedom and democracy. We praise our brothers in the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania for the

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exemplary leadership they have displayed in their struggle, and particularly the wise leadership of President Nelson Mandela. We again express our support and hope that one day soon peace and justice will prevail, with both our peoples living in peace, equality, harmony and prosperity. We sincerely hope that the current impasse in the negotiations concerning both our peoples will be overcome and that these negotiations will bear fruit in the near future.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.